

175 permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masai-land was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. *

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631 A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

634 The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

* SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; K. L. C. E., p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOK, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

727 the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise “who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*,” while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

648 In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Gallaland, the Coast region, Suk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion: Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken)

522 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters,
186 it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to “draw the badger” in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub “donkeys,” in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull of a third into jelly. The senenge and the beads he re-

634 junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.

175 Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1880 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moibo Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes: the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

175 But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of
731 famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

175 During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil
669 war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purku and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kissongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmolog. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Lossogonoi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kissongo, supported by the Purku. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kissongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purku from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kissongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

175 An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German
648 Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndasegëra Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mweandet of north Meru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapatu of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

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791 Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kissongo Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kiteto, about 1916, were taken to Laibon Parrit (16), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

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791 The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the moran, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organised locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom none of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

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791 In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbatian called us up to fight the Laikipiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbatian, it is obvious that Lenana and Sendeyo were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

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791 The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the *age grade ceremonies*. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Embolosat ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakonyuke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unoto and Ngeherr ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organisation of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position, it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merisho age was agreed to at an Ol Kiama (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The *il Piron* elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the moran. An interesting case occurred in February 1939, after the Endungore, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Murt decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
• 669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she
bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and
at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began
between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the
entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically
even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at
Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where
later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ resi-
dence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with
the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them
and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place
near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered
still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to
be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles
between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity
of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi;
the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha
and Mahga, where they founded a settlement under the chief
'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming
[101] into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

791 /19 cont./

175 was followed by Subgt and the latter by Mbatyan. After the latter's
 [619] death the Masai split up. One part placed itself under Lenana,
 the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the acces-
 sion of Mbatyan, the other under Zendeo, who was the old man's
 favorite son and named by him to be his successor. The people
 relate that Lenana cheated Zendeo out of the succession in a way
 similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born.
 Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the
 tied-on goatskin, it was made possible in the former case by the
 gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbatyan was lying on his sick-
 bed. He thought he had Zendeo before him and instructed Lenana
 in the secret arts of the ol oiboni. The two are now bitter enemies,
 • [669] who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Masai
 people. Lenana, now a man about 49 years old, lives with his
 followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station
 Nairobi, whereas Zendeo, ten years younger, inhabits, with his
 hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are merely phan-
 tom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an
 175 outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Masai
 619 experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Sitonik and
 791 Subgt had subjugated the Wakuafi, it rested upon him to keep down
 726 their constant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no
 [609] danger from them could threaten the Masai any longer. Through a
 well-organized spy system Mbatyan kept himself continuously
 informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious
 warriors could always attack those very Wakuafi settlements in
 which a war expedition /20/ against the Masai was being prepared.
 The most trouble here was made by the Wakuafi of Meruberg /Mt.
 Meru/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in
 the clefted mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on
 neighboring Masai kraals. Finally, however, the Meru people were
 175 successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that
 619 they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must
 791 bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Masai people
 729 look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something dis-
 466 graceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to
 461

/78 cont./

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[822]

These consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

[386]
[824]

with which white belongs as a fourth color, /79/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum campylacanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

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Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rarer the war expeditions of the Masai become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lenana-Zendeo civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Masai are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the relaxation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

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A shield escutcheon (Plate 1) may contain: 1. the red warrior-emblem (os serat' onjugi), 2. the black emblem (os serat' erok) (1),

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (es segira l el oho), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

1, [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]

2, [See pp. 604-607--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/88 cont./

of the fight, or until one party remains the victor two or more times in succession. The fight assumes greater dimensions if the two duelists belonged to different lineages or even different tribes. Then



C. G. Schilling's photo.

III. 32. Dance in the warrior kraal I.

the two lineages or the two tribes make war on each other insofar as they live in one district; a conflict that is equivalent to a small civil war arises. Members of these lineages or tribes who live in a more distant district do not take part in the fight.

A war in which Masai stand against Masai is called ol arabal (pl. ei arabali), not en djöre (n djorin) as a war between Masai and foreign tribes is called.

/89/ In peacetime the warrior spends only the least time in his own kraal; for the most part he gads about on visits in neighboring ones, often several days' march away. Never may all leave the kraal together in peacetime; a guard of at least ten men always remains at home for the protection of the girls and the livestock, while the rest stop to visit at an ol bul (forest meal, see p.111 above) or with other people.

/348 cont./

had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.

A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,

to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation, agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants